

PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

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THREE PENCE

EEN GROET AAN ONZE

NEDERLANDS-SPREKENDE LEZERS

PEACE News verschijnt in Engeland, maar wordt over de gehele wereld gelezen. We hopen in de toekomst nog meer buitenlandse vrienden in nog meer landen te winnen, want het ideaal waarvoor Peace News strijdt kan alleen overzeenlijkt worden als de werke-eenheid der mensheid de overwinning krijgt over de tegenstellingen tussen de nationale staten.

Wij werken voor een wereld waarin de oorlog zal zijn afgeschaft en een nieuwe menselijke gemeenschap tot stand gebracht.

Wij hopen, dat U belang stelt in Peace News en in naam van het blad, zowel als van de beweging, waar het mee verbonden is, zenden we U onze broederlijke groeten.

Pacifist Challenge at Amsterdam

THE challenge of pacifism has been put before the Amsterdam Assembly of the Churches in a letter to all the delegates from Christian pacifists in fifteen different countries. The letter, which was drafted in America, calls for a re-study and a further definition of the Christian attitude to war.

The conclusions to which it leads are, briefly, that the Church, which is the body of Christ and the Incarnation, cannot be at war, since the unrestrained violence of modern war is

COMMENTARY by MAURICE CRANSTON

utterly inconsistent with its nature and task; that it follows from the nature and function of the Church that its members should not participate in war; and that the Church should call upon people and governments, unitedly or singly, to cease from war and from preparations for war and to adopt peaceful procedures for the settlement of conflict and the overcoming of tyranny and aggression.

The Christian News Letter has already commented on the memorandum.

"It is not an impressive document," Dr. I. H. Oldham writes. "It contains many loose and unconvincing statements."

That in all probability, will be the reaction of most of the Amsterdam delegates to the challenge. What they will fail to acknowledge is that the whole teaching of Jesus is open to precisely the same criticism; Christianity is unimpressive, confusing, unconvincing—yet many have discerned in it a singular and inspiring truth. For my own part I have many doubts about pacifism, but I have never at any time been able to see how anyone can be a Christian without being a pacifist. And I know of no argument against pacifism which is not also an argument against Christianity.

A new name

AMONG the British signatures to the Christian pacifist memorandum was that of Donald Mackinnon, Regius Professor of Moral Philosophy at Aberdeen. Mackinnon is one of the most dynamic figures in modern British philosophy; he is per-

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TRAFALGAR SQUARE "Save the Peace" RALLY

CALL TO END WAR FROM WOMEN PACIFISTS

OVER ninety organisations, including forty-three Co-operative Women's Guilds and many Trades Councils, are sending representatives to a big "Save the Peace" Rally in Trafalgar Square, London, on Sunday. Groups of housewives from Gravesend, Orpington and even as far afield as Luton, will be converging on the Square during the afternoon.

The Rally, organised by the International Women's Day Committee, will be addressed by Dr. Kathleen Lonsdale, the well-known scientist and member of the Peace Pledge Union, Mrs. Clara Bamber, an outstanding figure in the Co-operative movement, Mrs. Jessie Street, of Australia, Miss Patricia Burke, and others.

The Chair will be taken by Mrs. Leah Manning, M.P., from whose constituency, Epping, a party of seven to ten year-old boys and girls will be arriving, dressed in various national costumes to represent the peoples of the United Nations.

The Rally will, we hope, demonstrate the horror of war which unites the common people of all countries, despite the hate propaganda of Governments, Communist and Democratic, and the State-imposed barrier of the Iron Curtain, separating husbands from wives and preventing that free intercourse between nations which would issue in understanding and peace.

Below we print messages from women prominent in the British Pacifist Movement:—

Kathleen Lonsdale

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY, and all that it stands for, should have the active goodwill and support of every woman in Britain, whatever her business or home duties, whatever her political opinions or her social position.

It stands for friendship, for unity, for peace between the nations. It stands for the right of every mother to know that her children will be free from want and will not be sacrificed in yet another war.

A NEW TASK FOR WOMEN

Women have made a name for themselves in one field after another, in education, in medicine, in the arts, in science, in civic life; but it cannot be claimed at yet that they have made any considerable contribution towards the promotion of sanity in international affairs.

Women everywhere should be able to do this directly if they had a united will to peace. They could certainly do it indirectly, for women have the upbringing of very young children largely in their own hands. It is only as men everywhere cease to desire the things that make for war: power, profits, luxury; and cherish instead the things that make for peace, that peace will come. And the seeds of either way of life are sown in childhood.

RED CROSS OUTLAWS ATOMIC AND BACTERIAL WAR

ON Monday the Seventeenth International Red Cross Conference held its final plenary session in Stockholm, under the chairmanship of Count Bernadotte. The Conference had shown itself fully alive to the lessons of the last ten years, and the dangers of the next.

A new Draft Convention for the Protection of Civilians in Time of War bans not only the taking of hostages, the use of torture and concentration camps, but also such practices as deportations and arrests without charge widely adopted by all sides both during and since the last war.

It recommends the immediate demarcation of "security zones," within

Vera Brittain

THE control of human affairs by women has not been weighed in the balance and found wanting: it has been found unacceptable by the men in charge and has therefore never been tried.

As the next stage of history in this man-made civilisation looks like being the extinction of the human species, it would be a good idea to give women, who are biologically creators, not destroyers, at least an equal chance to manage international relations before it is too late. They could hardly do worse—they might well do better.

Sybil Morrison

WHEN in 1934 Dick Sheppard made his appeal to young men to sign a postcard containing the words

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.

he excluded women. It was two years later before women were allowed to join the Peace Pledge Union. In my view this was the one mistaken judgment he ever made.

The Pledge is not a mere refusal to take up arms, it is a positive statement of our inalienable right to refuse to take part in something we believe to be evil.

Women have for too long allowed men to speak for them: their will towards peace needs to be made vocal.

Why I Resigned

By Miss RAYMONDE-HAWKINS
Ex-Labour Candidate for the
Chichester Division of Sussex

I HAVE been actively engaged in educational and social work from my teens, and twenty-five years of child and animal welfare work have convinced me that the world's need is true Socialism.

This conviction led me to twenty years' association and activity within the Labour movement, and finally to accept the invitation to be the official witness for Socialism in the Chichester Division. From the start I was conscious of some reservation, for I held strong pacifist views which I knew might be an embarrassment if war ever came, and yet I was able to offset that uncertainty by the knowledge that many within the present Government also had similar views.

Representing Labour, one had justifiably proud feelings of some achievements during their period of office; it was easy to expound all that Social Security means, easy to praise National Insurance, and support Nationalisation, but the decision to resign from my candidature was entirely due to my views on our attitude to other nations, to Russia, to France, to Greece, etc.

Nevertheless, conscious that the Opposition press, and Opposition parties are clever at starting and pursuing whispering campaigns and every possible tactic to harm the good which the Government is doing, I carefully reviewed all my thoughts lest I, too, was being clouded by opposition propaganda.

I read up at length the speeches of many members of the present Government, made by them in the days when they were doing Socialist propaganda as Parliamentary candidates, when they held the position that I was in. I read their promises to promote peace, their pledges against war, their utterances of goodwill, their ideas on the slogan "Workers of the world unite," and I could now quote a dozen who denounced war as a waste of life, money and effort, and as morally wrong. These were all exactly my own sentiments, but now that these people are in office, and while Britain can still lead the world's thoughts, what signs do we see of world peace?

Rome was not built in a day, and world peace and Socialist realisations will not be achieved in a single session of Parliament, but where one begins to falter in confidence is when one realises that in the building of Rome the foundations were well and truly laid. If the peace movement is to grow at all during the lifetime of this Parliament, at least we must demand that the right seed is used in the soil so ready to receive it, we must see that the right gardeners are at work on that soil, and most of all that the head gardener knows not only which seeds to plant where but also what tools to use.

I remain in the Labour Party: it is a great step on to Socialism, and we are proud of our present efforts in many directions; but as a Socialist and as a woman I cannot remain a candidate for Parliament unless I am one hundred per cent. confident in my Government, and I cannot be while I remain strongly opposed to war.

The barbaric system of killing my brother because capitalists have disagreed, or because Big Business can make profits from armaments, finds no relationship to my creed, nor does our present conscription savour of future peace plans, nor do we encourage goodwill by our present policy to other Europeans; so my Socialism goes on, but I am the more convinced that only by boldly and publicly standing up for our ideals shall we do anything, and the working women of the world could stop war for all time if they dared to be bold enough.

WAR IS INEXCUSABLE, AND UNNECESSARY. WHERE ARE THE WOMEN WHO WILL LEAVE IT UP AND STOP IT?

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A NATIONAL DISGRACE

THE Stuttgarter Zeitung recently carried a moderately-worded article on the dismantling of the watch and clock industry in South Württemberg.

The dismantling of these factories means unemployment for thousands of German workers of exceptional ability. It means the end of the one South German industry which could have played an immediate part in earning dollars for the reconstruction of Europe.

South Württemberg is in the French Zone of Germany. The French have issued the dismantling orders. But behind the French action is British intervention.

Behind Britain's action is something particularly sinister. The evidence for this is not provided by the Stuttgarter Zeitung. It has been discovered by a Tribune reporter in the official journal of the British Watch and Clock Makers Guild, The Jeweller and Metalworker. This journal revealed that a representative of the Guild had been employed to negotiate with the Allied Control Commission to help break down a German industry which was a trade rival of a British industry. The Allied Control Commission had originally decided that the German watch and clock industry should be allowed to work at 72 per cent of the 1938 output.

"It is pleasing to report," the British trade paper continued, "that the final result has been to reach agreement that the German industry is to be reduced to 50 per cent of the 1938 level."

Pleasing to report, indeed! Pleasing on a short term view, for the shareholders of the British watch and clock trade, no doubt. But does the Labour Government seriously intend to further the vested interests of this small group at the expense of untold suffering in South Württemberg and of hindering the economic recovery of Western Europe? Such a policy is scarcely conceivable. Yes, such a policy has been in fact pursued.

A Peace News correspondent, Mr. E. W. Veale, writes: "Of what avail is idle talk of Germany making her full contribution to European recovery while German industries are wantonly pillaged? Can we expect anti-Communist feeling among the German workers who must perforce watch the bread being taken out of their mouths by their so-called partners in Western Union?"

Mr. Veale argues, on the basis of sound economic analysis, that a prosperous Germany is essential to a prosperous Britain, and no less than to a prosperous Europe, and that we all stand to lose by this vicious policy of dismantling a useful industry.

Some people have supposed that dismantling in the French Zone is a purely French responsibility. Blame for it is attached to the rigidity of France's policy in Germany. But this would be unjust in the present instance. The policy has been framed in concord with Britain, and as The Jeweller and Metalworker reveals, the pressure for dismantling has come from British business interests.

Common justice and common sense alike demand that this iniquitous and stupid policy should be at once reversed.

Letters from Denmark—III

THE INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE

THE People's International College at Elsinore has often featured in Peace News. The most surprising thing about it, to my mind, is that it is unique. That so obviously valuable an institution should have celebrated its jubilee without giving rise to any imitation elsewhere is even a little disturbing.

Much of the success of the College can no doubt be attributed to the devotion of an exceptional personality, the founder and present principal, Peter Manniche; much also to the support of the Danish Government, always more alive than most to its educational responsibilities. In a circular on May 21 1941, the Ministry of Education defined the purpose of the State schools as being,

"to strengthen the children's feeling for ethical and Christian values, inspire them with respect for human life and for nature, teach them to love their homes, their people and their country, to consider the opinions of other people, to appreciate community between the peoples and fellowship with the other Scandinavian nations."

Obviously Mr. Manniche was acting within the tradition, not only of the Folk High Schools but of the Danish Ministry itself, when he set out to build a College where students of all nationalities might come together to study each others' languages and social institutions.

SMALL BEGINNINGS

That was in 1921, and the beginnings of the College were small indeed. The old manor house in which it was located lacked most of the necessary amenities, and housed only two dozen students the first term. It was up to then to extend the buildings, and bring the land under cultivation in order to make the establishment as nearly self-supporting as possible. This very necessity, however, taught one of the first and most important lessons: namely, the value of concerted manual work in breaking down the barriers between individuals and groups.

It is interesting to learn that Mr. Manniche, who probably has as much experience of international gatherings as any man in Europe, is very far from dismissing "national characters" as illusory. Certain dispositions he tells me, are definitely common among people of one country than another, and may be said to determine that country's particular contribution to the common weal.

He believes that a healthy internationalism can only grow out of a healthy nationalism—"the power of

interpreting life's events can best be utilised in a circle small enough to make it possible to discern the right relationship between the causes and effects of human actions"; but, as "experience tells us that harmony and peace between the different nationalities cannot prevail for any length of time, unless certain rules of regular work and mutual intercourse be maintained," he is inclined to look forward to the creation of a super-national authority with power to enforce a few world laws.

MORE ACCOMMODATION

Nowadays, the College accommodates some 120 students at a time, in addition to excellently appointed classrooms, gym and lecture hall; and during the twenty-five years of its active existence, Mr. Manniche reckons that 5,000 must have spent the summer and winter terms there, while at least another 7,000 have attended vacation courses.

My own brief visit last month was badly timed. It was the holiday season, and most of the visitors, school-teachers from England and elsewhere, were there to enjoy themselves rather than to study—one could almost see their lips shaping the anecdotes with which they would subsequently excite the envy of more stay-at-home colleagues and relations. Moreover, I had been very much alone during the preceding days, and to be plunged all at once from a meditative solitude into a concourse of people already well known to one another can be as painful as stepping off an ice-cold floor into a hot bath. One shrinks more than ever into oneself. A troupe of English school-teachers singing "The more we are together" on a Danish train was too much. Somehow, on the only expedition in which I took part, I got lost at the very outset. . . .

WINTER PLANS

However, I gather that arrangements are being made for proper teachers' courses to be held at the College in winter; and a Scandinavian Teachers' Post-Graduate School is taking shape in the vicinity. Nor are these the only new projects afoot. "Experience has taught me," Mr.

OUR WORK FOR PEACE

WE were recently criticised by a friend because we "are not active enough for peace." But our activity depends in the last resort on your support and unless this is forthcoming our hands are tied. Your copy of Peace News this week carries a notice of the Peace Week that the London Area Committee of the PPU are planning. Many of us hope that this will develop into a nation-wide campaign. Will you help to make this possible by sending your donation to Headquarters Fund NOW?

MAUD ROWNTREE,

Treasurer.

Contributions since Aug. 20: £6 13s. Total for 1948: £121 11s. 8d.

Donations to the fund should be sent, marked "Headquarters Fund," to the Treasurer, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

Manniche says, "not to rely too much on one's own ideas and schemes, but—as the Quakers say—to wait for God's help and enlightenment." He is at present concerned with the foundation of an International Continuation School, where pupils of fourteen to eighteen may receive an education appropriate to their age—with special emphasis on handicrafts and agriculture—in the same international atmosphere as prevails at the College.

What is the value of institutions of this sort? Candidly, I must confess that the insistence on "peace" in the College prospectus strikes me as misplaced. Tempting as it is to think that peace is promoted by the talking, singing and working together of young people of different nationalities, the brute fact is that even if there were a hundred times as many Peoples' Colleges in Europe as there are, World War III would not be less likely than it is now. Possibly if the Russians were allowed to attend, it might be otherwise; but if the Soviet Government were such as to allow them to do so, the present danger would not exist. Just because the People's College does promote toleration and mutual understanding, it is deprived of the chance where these are most in need.

But that is not a criticism of the College—quite the contrary. Peace, after all, is not of the first importance; it is merely a means to an end, and we are always in danger of losing sight of the end in the means. If we abhor war and try to prevent it, that is because war destroys so much that makes life worth living; if we love peace and try to preserve it, that is because peace provides the opportunity to seek the truth and the good life: the People's International College takes full advantage of that opportunity.

F. A. LEA.

Bruderhof—from a visitor

MAY I make some points with regard to Ashton Jones's criticisms of the Bruderhof Community?

1 Even if the women do use much material in their clothes, the men use little. The quality of the clothes being uniform I think, removes cause for jealousy, and maybe long skirts are better too from the moral viewpoint.

2 The head scarf, if I remember, was very attractive, much more so I think than the average woman's hair unless she spends money on having it "permed," which by the way, is hardly doing unto others as you would have them do to you, considering that there is some ingredient used in the waving which is liable to give the hair-dresser a serious skin disease on the hands.

3 "A regime of 'forced' labour which leaves me no time for individual interests."—In my three weeks stay, I never noticed the former, in fact I considered it the very opposite. Did Jesus and His disciples have any time for individual interests?

But surely in a Group there must always be someone in authority, the rest of the Group being perfectly willing to submit to the Leadership providing it does not suggest they should disobey God's laws, and I do not think there is much likelihood of anyone suggesting that at the Bruderhof.

4 I wonder if the reason that certain meetings are closed to visitors is that the presence of non-members might destroy the feeling of unity which, as A. J. told us in his first article, is very strong and consequently might prevent harmonious decisions being arrived at by the members?

Lately I have come to the conclusion that we, as visitors, are probably at fault in our criticism, because we are looking at the Community from outside, whereas had we as children been brought up in the Community, we should never have noticed these things.

A. J. finds a tendency towards the breakdown of "family life," because, as in the industrial centres, sharing in the work of the community takes both parents from the home.

Surely in this case it is not a breakdown, but a widening of family life.

From article 1 I gather that the spirit of oneness is so great, that all the member (teachers, etc.) would look on the children as *their* children, and that therefore the children would feel they were in the care of many more parents than just two. How happy, too, being brought up in such a loving atmosphere all the time!

"Another Visitor."

—and from an ex-member

THE Bruderhof articles were of especial interest to me as I was myself a member there for two years.

There is one point, however, regarding which I would like to say something, because I feel strongly that it

LETTERS

is one which many people have had falsely presented to them. It is the "unity" of the Bruderhof.

The members themselves often suggest that this unity is a proof of the rightness of their way of life and it is a point which is made much of by the group and which does strike visitors, and even those who spend months with the group, very forcibly.

The real basis of this unity is a closely guarded secret. In none of the Bruderhof leaflets, nor from any member's mouth (to a non-member), is a word ever breathed of what befalls a member who does not feel 100 per cent in unity with the Bruderhof creed. And what does happen? Briefly there is a system of "church discipline" which provides a degree of "what shall I say?" "Punishment," "coercion" they would hotly deny—voluntary self-penance (with clauses to the voluntary, perhaps). For example a member who openly said that he no longer believed the Bruderhof way of

community (and no other) to be the only true way of following Christ, would not be left free to express his view.

The discipline ranges from "voluntary" ostracism, the person neither speaking to, nor being spoken to by any other member, except where essential for work, to the final stage where the offender lives in complete solitude, seeing neither wife, husband nor children but only the leader of the group, until he repents and re-asserts complete unity.

The pressure thus brought to bear, for instance, on a family man, is terrific. Husbands and wives are generally separated when one is known to be "in trouble," i.e., thinking differently from the group on a fundamental matter. A man may be six months in solitude, during which time he knows his wife, whom he may not see, is continually reminded of her marriage vow, of loyalty to the Bruderhof (for them synonymous with God) before loyalty in marriage. So the man knows that if he persists in his differing view he will have to leave the group, and almost certainly his wife and children. His choice—to leave, penniless (all his property was given to the group), friendless, homeless, perhaps with no trade or knowledge of Spanish, or, to convince himself that he thought wrongly, and return to his family. Is this a "voluntary choice," a genuine unity?

I was one of many who left in South America. I was fortunate, I had my husband and in the end we got home. Others have had a terrible time, poverty stricken and friendless. When we have chanced to meet members of the community in the street they have looked the other way, or crossed the street. Our crimes? We dared to think after we had been admitted to the inner sanctum we dared to differ, to leave.

I believe this to be a great tragedy that a group containing so many fine people and having so very many really good beliefs should feel it necessary to be secretive about the basis and workings of their life, that they should be blind to the inevitable self-deception and hypocrisy which their insistence on 100 per cent unity must bring.

MAY B. DAVIS.

THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE IN ASIA

PALESTINE:
Non-violent
Alternative

CONDEMNED as a race of "heretics" for centuries, the Jewish people have undergone untold persecution and suffering. That is why democratic-socialist and working class movements recognised and supported their demand for a "National Home."

This demand was realised in practice with the termination of the British mandate over Palestine in May this year, and already, this new "State of Israel" is accorded official recognition by several powers. Soon, it will acquire full international recognition.

Nevertheless, its rise is marked by war with the Arab States. The rulers of the Arab States see in the new Jewish State a definite threat to their own independence. So they demand an Arab Palestine wherein equal citizenship will be accorded to the Jews, who in turn will be permitted to be "as Jewish as they can be."

In order to enforce this demand, the rulers of the Arab States are at war with their Jewish neighbours.

However, a critical examination of this Arab demand, will reveal the most significant fact that the Arab States, with the exception of a few, are governed by the will of

most absolute rulers, whose subjects do not even enjoy the most elementary democratic rights. In view of this fact their offer of equal citizenship for the Jews in an Arab Palestine cannot be taken seriously. Before they can guarantee such a right for the Jews, the Arab rulers must concede first the same elementary democratic right to their own subjects—90 per cent of whom are their co-religionists!

Yet, the Jews were not justified in bringing to Palestine, thousands of emigrant refugees from all over Europe. For they could not be accommodated in the given area profitably. Mass emigration, both legal and illegal, has been the main cause of the Arab suspicion and the goal of Jewish policy. The Arabs rightly feel that they were not responsible in any way for the present unfortunate plight of Jews in the world. Why, then, should Jews pick up a quarrel with a party not guilty of any overt or covert offence against them? All the same, the Arab-Jewish dispute now has assumed the form of a military conflict on a large scale. Is there a way out?

A COMMON CULTURE

Historically speaking, the Jews have a common cultural background with the Arabs. This is rooted in a common racial origin. There is thus no ground for a racial conflict. Moreover, the Jews, unlike the Arabs, must have now qualified themselves as genuine democrats and as opponents of all exploitation of man by man. Therefore, they must now appear as torch bearers of democratic ideals and progressive outlook, not only in Palestine, but wherever they are in the world. And Palestine is not the world. Unfortunately this outlook does not govern their present attitude. They place greater emphasis on their "Jewish race" than on their human origin. This is seen in the very title of their new "State of Israel."

Sincerely, though erroneously, the Zionists believe that the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine would be a guarantee against any further possibility of persecution of their race by any species of Fascism. Hence their determination to defend their State of Israel against all attacks by the Arab rulers.

No one can reasonably question the Jewish desire to have a home of their own. The Jews have a remarkably cultured and civilised background, coupled with a democratic outlook. They have experience of modern technological developments. Their organised life in Palestine will help

THE historic struggle for freedom of the Indian people against the British rule in India which ended in August, 1947, had two supporting wings and two complementary aims. Under the British rule India was administered and ruled in two ways:

1. The so-called British India, consisting of 800 millions, was ruled directly by the British Governor-General.
2. The so-called Indian India, consisting of 93 millions, was split up haphazardly and in an economically disastrous manner into 500 odd States (or areas), each one ruled by an Indian Ruling Prince, above whom there was always the Paramount Power of the British Raj exercised through the British Viceroy.

The two aims of the Indian National Government have been to win freedom from the British Rule and also to win similar freedom from the absolute rulers of the Indian States. The Indian National Congress was (and it still exists, of course) the oldest and most representative organisation which in the main worked in British India and which in the early years concentrated on the struggle against the British regime. But during the last 25 years or so, the corresponding struggle for freedom of what used to be called the "States' peoples"—93 millions of them—came to be gradually organised in the States' Peoples' Conference. Unfortunately very

towards rapid industrial developments throughout the Middle East.

But the crucial question is; what next? Will the Jews in Palestine escape their German experience? For over 300 years, they played a very creditable role in German industrial development and political progress. That fact could not save them from Hitler's hangmen.

WILL 1933 BE REPEATED

Indeed, the Jews will play a similar role in the Middle East. But where is the guarantee that, after some years spent in contributing to the modernisation of that area, they will not be faced with the same gloomy fate they met in Germany in 1933? One cannot ignore the lesson of history: that in the absence of genuine democratic developments side by side with the growth of modern industries, economic nationalism will give rise to a new "Prophet of Fascism." Once again history may repeat itself as ruthlessly as it did in Germany, and renewed persecution await future generations of the Jews.

Therefore in their momentary enthusiasm for their new "State of Israel" they must not overlook the future fate of their children. Democratic and progressive Jews and Arabs must unite purposefully in order to guarantee a bright future, not only in the disputed land of Palestine, but in the whole of the Middle East. The way to this objective lies in a frank repudiation of violence and power politics and in providing a moral basis to the solution of all outstanding disputes with the Arabs.

If progressive and democratically-minded Jews have the courage of their convictions, they would do well to declare that they would be prepared to be a part of a democratic Confederation, provided that the Arab rulers would forthwith agree to concede all the elementary democratic rights to the masses of the Arab peoples. This is how they can win the confidence of the peoples of Arab States and lay down a foundation of a genuine brotherhood and democratic development in the Middle East. At present the Middle East needs above all a social order free from racialism and power politics. Can the Jews help towards it?

INDIA'S PROBLEM
IN HYDERABAD

By Ayana Angadi

little of this latter movement is known to the outside world.

For various reasons of tactics the two wings of the Indian National Struggle—the Indian National Congress for British India, and the States' Peoples' Conference in the Indian India—were kept spread apart. But they received strength, support and inspiration from the same sources. Indeed, judging by their respective annual conferences, programmes and policies, the same leaders controlled and guided the two wings.

REGARDING the status of the 500 odd Indian Ruling Princes (called Rajas, Maharajas, Princes, etc.,) who were by no means wholly independent Sovereign Powers under the British Rule, the Settlement of August, 1947, transferred the powers of paramountcy or Sovereignty from the British Raj to the Indian Princes. So on the withdrawal of the British authority, all these Princes were declared to be independent Sovereign Powers who were to join of their own sweet will and in their own time either the Dominion of Pakistan or the Dominion of India. This is the genesis of the present trouble.

However, some progress has been made in settling the problems of the Indian States and Princes.

Of the 584 States covering an area of over 710,000 sq. miles and containing 93 million people, half a dozen of the border of Pakistan have acceded to or joined that Dominion. Almost all the remaining States have joined the Dominion of India thanks to the efforts of Sardar Patel, who is the Deputy Prime Minister, and is considered to be the strong man of India.

The accession of these States was effected after they had previously created new and democratic forms of Government with their rulers retaining more or less the powers of Constitutional Monarchs. Since they acceded to India they have been merging into a dozen federations, a fact highly desirable from the viewpoints of administration and economic reconstruction.

THE Indian States are of varying sizes, from the State of Bilbari with twenty-seven persons and an annual income of Rs 80 (less than six pounds sterling) to Hyderabad. Mysore has seven and a quarter millions, Travancore has six millions and Kashmir four million people.

Hyderabad, the largest State, is also one of the most backward from the economic and educational (with less than 10 per cent. literacy) points of view. The State has an area of 83,000 sq. miles, a population of 16½ millions and an annual revenue of six million pounds.

The State of Hyderabad is surrounded by the territories of the Dominion of India, has no coast line, and is economically bound up with India. Moreover, of its 16½ million people, only a little over two millions are Moslems, including the Ruler Nizam himself, the remaining being Hindus, and a quarter million Christians. Therefore, judging from the geographical, economic and even (if you like) religious considerations, the Nizam should accede to the Dominion of India, as so many other Indian Rulers have already done.

Perhaps there are other considerations equally vital in his eyes. The Nizam, the richest ruler of the largest State, and of the 250-year-old dynasty founded by a soldier of fortune from Central Asia, has always considered himself not just one of the 500 ruling Princes, not even *primus inter pares*, but as a class by himself. He was not subordinate to the British Raj; but was his "faithful Ally."

His ancestor fought, and was fully rewarded for it, on the side of the British East India Company rulers against Indian people in the so-called

Mutiny of 1857, which the Indians themselves describe as the First War of Indian Independence.

The present Nizam has not only his own laws and administrations but, unlike other Princes, he has the unique right to use his own currency and mint his own coins. Personally leading a very orthodox and spartan life, he is little touched by modern trends of democratic thinking and practices. He disdains to travel abroad, and would not even go to New Delhi last June to meet and negotiate with Lord Mountbatten, the then Governor-General of the Dominion of India.

IT is not that the Nizam is entirely unwilling to accede to the Dominion of India, but he would do it in his own way and on his own conditions. Considerations of personal power, prestige and economic interests are, in varying degrees, still causing his resistance and delaying tactics. All efforts of mediation, even through distinguished Moslems, have failed so far. The issue of Hyderabad is, like many others, one of the democratic rights of its people. The Nizam refuses to establish a democratic government, retaining for himself the limited powers of a constitutional monarch, which is the pre-condition for accession to the Dominion of India.

The Nizam himself realises not only the external pressure brought upon him by the Government of India (by restrictions of trade and finance), but also the internal pressure coming from the majority of his own people. Therefore by way of preparing for any eventuality, he had allowed the creation of a private army of 250,000 zealous Moslems among his own subjects and of Pathans recruited from outside under the leadership of one Kasim Razvi. This army of orthodox followers calling themselves Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen, popularly known as Razakars, are the storm troops of the Nizam of Hyderabad.

SUCH are the recent activities of this army of Razakars that several Hindu and Moslem officials and Ministers of the Nizam's Government, originally appointed, as they all are, by the Nizam himself, have now resigned in protest. The White Paper issued by the Government of India says that they

"cannot afford to be helpless spectators of orgies of misrule in Hyderabad. If the law and order situation there, which already shows signs of collapse, further deteriorates and thereby imperils peace and good order in India, the Government of India would unquestionably be involved. . . . In his misguided quest for unchecked absolutism, the Nizam is converting Hyderabad into a potential foreign base. With the help of a very small group of the militant section of the minority and his personal wealth he seeks to suppress all democratic movements in the State and to develop an independent theocratic Fascist State in the heart of India which . . . is intended to form a base for subverting the loyalty of the Muslims in India."

In order to oppose the increasing threat of this private army of the Nizam's, the Freedom Movement of his own people, supported by the Indian National Congress and the Socialist Party, are today openly demanding that the Government of India should provide them with arms and adopt a more militant policy. But Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel have been preferring other methods.

The issue of Hyderabad is in many ways similar to other issues elsewhere in India, Asia, Africa and the rest of the world.

It can be settled democratically and peacefully by enforcing the principle of the Atlantic Charter. "They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of Government under which they will live" says the third article of this Charter. So a plebiscite of the people of Hyderabad, if necessary under the supervision of an international body, should be held in order to decide what form of Government with what limited powers of Nizam should be created. And such a representative Government should be left the final task of ing to India or Pakistan.

War Resistance in Italy

AFTER THREE WARS AND THE FASCIST REGIME

THE origin of the Italian group of War Resisters dates at least as far back as 1915. Already, during the first world war, I had given lectures throughout Italy, with a view to preventing my nation from joining in the war; and had tried to preserve those feelings of humanity among the nations at war, on which the reconstruction of peace must be founded.

Then Fascism came: and with it a system of education inspired by acute nationalism and the spirit of imperialism. Every young man, from his childhood, was trained to be a soldier for the greatness of his country.

I was dismissed, in June, 1934, from State School teaching on account of resistance to Fascist education and vindication of the primacy of conscience. About a dozen friends of similar views, representative of many professions and political and religious ideas, started a movement in opposition to the invasion of Abyssinia. Their resistance was continued, after the crime had been perpetrated, by a letter to the League of Nations, disavowing, in the name of true Italy, what had taken place and refusing to recognise any value in the conquest.

MILAN—1939

The opposition to war of this group—not yet formally linked up with the WRI—took the shape of a public demonstration in Milan on Oct. 1, 1939, against the Nazi-Fascist alliance, on the eve of the second world war: with the result that twelve of us were arrested and sentenced to prison for months or several years. Some were deprived of the means of subsistence, and socially ostracised, but their voice of protest and activities to relieve war victims were not stopped.

Soon after the fall of Fascism and the end of the war the opportunity was presented of forging war hatred into a constructive search for goodwill and peace among mankind, and perhaps to attempt the foundation of an organised group of COs, adhering to the WRI or to the For.

It was not an easy task, but eventually I succeeded in getting a series of articles published in various papers, while the Italian Historical Review published the full account of our campaign against the Abyssinian war.

From several districts in Italy came a warm response to our propaganda, from young as well as from older people attracted by the ideas and impressed by the example of the pioneers among the COs in modern times.

On June 25, 1947, the War Resisters' group, which had *de facto* existed for eleven years, came to *de jure* existence when a number of young people in Milan formally bound themselves by the WRI Declaration. Prudence does not allow me to make public the names of these pioneers, who will eventually reveal themselves by their deeds: but it is sufficient to say that the name of Aldo Rescigno has appeared more than once in the pacifist press abroad.

MILAN—1948

Today, the number of active sympathisers and correspondents with the original Milan pioneer group may be reckoned at about one hundred, of whom several are themselves centres of wider influence. But a much larger number of young people have come into contact and are in general sympathy with them, only held back from joining by the uncompromising demands of the WRI.

This group can claim some practical success in the share they took in the campaign for the recognition of the rights of COs by the Constituent Assembly, and in the two broadcast addresses recently given in Italy on COs, War Resisters, and the For. Six public lectures were given in 1947-8 in Milan, Bologna and Bergamo, to illustrate the spirit and practice of COs and the origin of the Society of Friends. The group also sent a telegram to Marshal Tito in Feb. 1947, seeking commutation of the death sentence on three Jehovah's Witnesses for refusing military service. A pacifist circulating library was inaugurated.

A few months after the constitution of the Milan WRI group, another group of COs arose from a movement of religious revival, started by Prof. Caporali and Ferdinando Tar-

taglia and several religious and social service workers—some of them fervent pacifists of long standing.

For reasons of prudence it seems advisable that the adherence of our group to the WRI should not be officially avowed, as the organisation of an Italian section of any International Association is forbidden. It is enough, however, for the Italian public to know, that we are in full agreement and close collaboration with the WRI.

In May, 1947, the Italian Parliament heard Ernesto Caporali's courageous appeal in favour of COs. The grey, cold atmosphere of the Chamber, deaf and dumb to utterances of high pure ideals, was for the first time thrilled with the atmosphere of a religious meeting. His motion was: "The State shall reserve for Conscientious Objectors, in case of war, purely auxiliary tasks." "Demo-Christian" opposition could think of no better reason for reject-

HAVE THE BISHOPS AN ANSWER TO MARX?

ONE of the resolutions passed by the Lambeth Conference called upon Christians to study Communism so that its errors might be resisted and the truths of its criticism of the existing social order acknowledged. The Daily Worker says that Communists would welcome such a study.

Whatever may be said of Marxism, it cannot be asserted that it has not had a dynamic influence in determining recent history. True, it is chiefly materialistic history that it has influenced, and if Marxism has had, or is having, any effect in matters Christian and spiritual, it can only be in the sense that it has challenged and undermined fake, unreal or ineffective forms of Christianity. The challenge of Marxism to Christianity may appear to be very real if not ominous, but such a view would be mistaken and short-sighted, for, in the final analysis, Marxism must yield and surrender to the power of the spirit of truth and righteousness.

Should modern Marxism, then, succeed in overcoming and eliminating all take forms of Christianity, that would be no reason for becoming unduly alarmed. It might well be that even the Saints will be overcome by Marxism—for a time.

What is important at this stage is that there are sound reasons why all sincere Christians should resolutely resist all attempts to force or lure them into the Communist or anti-Communist camps.

What Marx discovered

Like Newton and Darwin, Marx discovered "values" in relation to natural laws. Marx may have been a little indebted to Darwin. What is certain, however, is that Marx went a stage further than Darwin, for Marx was concerned with human relationships, beginning at the point of production, whereas Darwin was concerned with evolution apart from politics and economics.

The Marxist law, or values, appears to be simple enough. It has two parts, upon which is built the whole superstructure of dialectical materialism. The two parts are closely co-related, in much the same way as the mind and the sub-conscious mind. They are defined as "value" and "surplus value." The first, value, is defined as "The amount of necessary human labour power embodied or incorporated in the manufactured article or commodity." The second, surplus value—or profit if you prefer the term—is the amount of labour power expropriated from the worker by the capitalist at the point of production.

It is this expropriated value and its compounded ramifications in the growth and development of industrial capitalism that has caused all the trouble in the world. That is if we

THE WRI DECLARATION:
War is a crime against humanity. We therefore are determined not to support any kind of war and to strive for the removal of all causes of war.

Professor Giovanni Pioli

whose adherence to the WRI declaration during the Fascist regime in Italy brought him imprisonment and dismissal from his University posts, came to England this summer to report at the WRI Conference at Shrewsbury on the work of Italian war resisters. Extracts from his report form the basis of this article.

ing the amendment than this—that in Italy no sect exists which has engaged in specific activity in favour of this line of conduct. "As if," Caporali retorted, "the refusal to bear arms were a particular tenet of a special sect, say of the Quakers, and not a human affirmation above any religious or philosophical creed."

Caporali's motion was rejected by about 300 against to 100 in favour.

The little, the very little, we have been able to do—in spite of the apathy of the Church, the opposition of most political parties, and worst of all, the lack of earnestness in a youth demoralised by Fascism and war—was done rather by way of spade work, and of scattering the seed, than of gathering the crop. It all had to be done by a very few people, overburdened and crushed by cares, with little money for propaganda apart from the assistance from WRI Headquarters and the occasional contributions of sympathisers.



From an original by Wolfgang Schaedia-Ruhland.

Asks H. Gardiner discussing the Lambeth Resolution on Communism

If there are elements of truth in the doctrine of natural selection, etc., there is greater truth in such concepts of spiritual relations, etc., and if there is some truth embodied in Marxian value and surplus value, there is a lot more truth to be discovered in the reality of spiritual value and surplus-value.

It ought to be realised, for example, that most of the great inventions of the past two hundred years are not explained on the basis of the amount of necessary human labour power embodied in them. There is the amount of creative, mental—and possibly spiritual—value embodied in their creation, and in this connection we have to admit that these inventions have played a much greater part in fashioning our modern society than purely human labour-power. So in actual fact Marxists ought to be conducting a greater struggle on behalf of exploited inventors than of the proletariat.

But in order to get the clearest possible distinction between Marxist and Christian values, we must always turn to the life and teaching of Jesus. The trained Marxist may be the spearhead of a natural process, but only to the extent that unregenerate or unspiritualised man has allowed it. The Marxist himself still acts and reacts according to natural law.

Jesus, on the other hand, did not so act and react, and it is this very important part of the life of Jesus that has received so little attention in distinguishing Christianity from Marxism. Jesus determined, in accordance with spiritual law, whether to act or not to act, or whether or not he would react to men and their conditions, hopes and desires.

This economic freedom, summed up in: "I have meat to eat that ye know not of," was an essential pre-requisite of his greater spiritual freedom.

The four Gospels are full of examples testifying to His power and dominance over material conditions and circumstances. Even when His disciples expected the orthodox or natural reaction from Him in certain situations, they were often confounded, disappointed or mystified by His unexpected attitudes or decisions.

This going against the general stream of human action and reaction, this striving to dominate and control and mould one's surroundings, environment and conditions, remains the one valid answer to the inadequacy of Marxism, and that is why, in my estimation, the Peace Pledge is a good beginning, but only a beginning.

TWO PIONEERS OF PACIFISM

By George M. Ll. Davies

RICHARD ROBERTS

LEYTON RICHARDS

ON a Welsh mountain upland, a group of friends recently assembled for the Last Post for Dr. Richard Roberts, when his ashes were scattered to the winds and the heather.

It was typical of Dick that, after having been Minister of the famous Church of the Pilgrims, New York, and, later, Moderator of the United Church of Canada, he should have died in his last illness for his native heath of Merioneth and the fellowship of farm folk.

It was as General Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in 1915 that I first met him and joined him as a colleague. What a mixture we seemed — Anglicans, Quakers, Nonconformists, English, Welsh, Scots, Irish; united only by a common dissent from war and a discipleship to Christ.

Our modern pilgrimage for unity and peace ran through some dark tunnels into sunlight and open country, and through prison to Parliament; in popularity, we began to realise the danger of numbers and that loneliness in a crowd could be worse than loneliness in a cell. It was Dick's fate to be called to eminence in New York and Canada as a pioneering pacifist, and to find in wars desertion by those who did not expect him to practise what he preached.

He seemed fated thus to give peace from the time in South Wales when he invited the ostracised and suspected Kier Hardie to share his lodging; and yet, with all his influence at the slowness of the Church to face facts, he maintained humility and magnanimity, and did not expect in the muddled human stream the purity of its divine source. It was the peace he had known and friendship he had found in this world of Merioneth that drew his last thoughts from all the welter of the wider world of America where he

SUCCESSOR to Richard Roberts as General Secretary of the FoR was Leyton Richards, whose death was announced last week.

Leyton Richards had given up an important Church in Manchester to continue the peace witness that he had previously made in Australia. His vigour of speech and great ability as a debater made him one of the most powerful exponents of pacifism in the country. Though he had refused to impose himself on a non-pacifist congregation, his courage and consideration for those who did not agree with him on war, led at last to a unanimous invitation to him to return to his Ministry among them.

Later, he was invited to the charge of the famous Carrs Lane Church, Birmingham, where his peace witness was vigorously maintained. When the last war came there were still dissenters to his pacifism and again his magnanimity to them led to a unanimous wish that he should remain their leader.

There is a sentence of Edmund Burke, who knew what it was to stand for peace in the midst of war, that might be applied to Leyton Richards and become the ideal of every pacifist.

"It is our business carefully to cultivate in our minds, to rear to the utmost vigour and maturity, every sort of generous and honest feeling that belongs to our nature; to bring the dispositions that are lovely in private life into the service and conduct of the commonwealth; so to be patriots as not to forget that we are gentlemen."

Finally, and until his retirement through ill-health, Leyton Richards became Warden of the Woodbrooke Settlement, Birmingham, where the background of the Society of Friends made it the meeting place of all sorts and conditions of men from all over Europe; there his pacifism had freedom to become, not only a doctrine, but a life of making peace through making friends.

Sculptor who was jailed as C.O.

SYDNEY LANGFORD JONES, the artist, sculptor and medallist, who died suddenly at his home at Blewbury, near Didcot, last week, at the age of sixty, was a lifelong Quaker pacifist.

A Friend, who shared his imprisonment during the 1914-18 War, writes:—

"Jonah," as he was known to his intimates, particularly remains in my mind as the tall stooping bearded figure in prison who unperturbed by his conditions and surroundings, to whose softly spoken words we loved to listen during exercise in Pentonville Prison, when, for two periods a day, we were allowed to talk. Our conversations with Jonah during the almost three years we spent with him at Pentonville were always worth while. He would himself and his fellow absolutist

COs by modelling exquisite little figures out of whitening (provided for cleaning our tins) moistened with a little skilly. These could be passed round and enjoyed—and also destroyed with ease if a sudden search put maker or possessor in jeopardy of "bread and water" for thus transgressing prison rules, which forbade self-expression and beauty.

It was through his sensitive fingers that Langford Jones mainly conveyed his message that "beauty is truth, truth beauty." His fellow pacifists perhaps gave less attention than they should to his particular contribution to their cause, through his "Peace Portfolio" issued by the Friends Peace Council 12 years ago, most of the drawings in which had previously appeared in *The Friend*. This was a unique and striking bit of propaganda. Of this Dick Sheppard said, "I have seldom seen a better bit of peace propaganda."

He designed the Chinese dollar and also medals for the Royal Mint, besides carrying out work for the Royal Institute of British Architects (including the Gold Medal awarded in 1927 to Hubert Liddell for his design of Friends House), the Royal Horticultural Society and other bodies. He was one of the few artists to whom Queen Mary and the late King George V gave sittings. Some of his works have been purchased by the Louvre and the Luxembourg Museums.

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World Federalists' First Conference

DELEGATES attending the first annual conference of the World Movement for World Federal Government which opens in Luxembourg on Sunday will learn that there are now 67 federalist organisations within the movement, compared with the 24 brought together at the inaugural congress at Montreux last year.

The main task before the conference will be consideration of practical measures for the implementing of the so-called "Montreux Declaration" which demanded, *inter alia*, the convening of a world constituent assembly to draft a world constitution. This constitution would provide for "the transfer to the world federal government of such legislative, executive and judicial powers as relate to world affairs, and the enforcement of world law directly upon that individual" instead of upon states.

Among the British delegates are Conservative, Liberal and Socialist M.P.s. Lord Beveridge and Sir John Boyd Orr will also attend.

The 105 delegates from the USA include Emory Reeves, author of the world best-seller "The Anatomy of Peace," and Cord Meyer, author of "Peace and Anarchy." Three Japanese delegates will be present together with two Members of the Diet, attending as observers.

London Area PPU Garden Party

MICHAEL TIPPETT GREETEDS "AN EVIL THING"

ON Saturday, Aug. 28, at a Garden Party organised by the London Area of the PPU, Michael Tippett spoke enthusiastically of the work which the movement carried on in spite of great difficulties.

He said that though many members were inclined to be disheartened by the seemingly unsatisfactory progress of the PPU towards stopping future wars, they must not forget that the organisation was only ten years old. A further hundred years might have to pass before its message was recognised. After all, very little attention had been paid to the Socialist Movement when it started.

He spoke with great feeling of the excellent full and part time work of members who continued to serve this organisation, slender though it was. He said he was proud to be a member of the PPU and was indeed grateful for all who by continuing this work, expressed his own ideals.

When a distinguished figure appeared half-way through his speech, Michael Tippett's face lightened with pleasure, and he said that it was unlikely that this gentleman would realise how important his arrival was to him. He said that on the second night of his imprisonment he had received a visit from him and he had greeted him then with these words: "How glad I am to see you here. I was in a cell like this twenty-five years ago!"

It was John Fletcher the Quaker Minister whom a London Magistrate had referred to last February as being "an evil thing." Mr. Fletcher had advised Philip Guard, a young CO actor, to follow the dictates of his own conscience about his calling-up papers, which, when he did so, resulted in fines and eventual imprisonment.

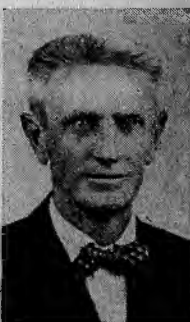
The aeroplane zooming overhead did not detract from the pleasure which was felt by Michael Tippett's encouraging words and by his obvious wish to identify himself as being a member of the PPU and greatly concerned with its work.

After tea, he continued to take part in the many attractions which included having his fortune told. Although he refused to divulge any secrets he seemed to have enjoyed the afternoon. So did everyone present, and London Area are to be congratulated on their efforts to make this party a success.

Pacifist Profiles V

A FEW years after Professor José Brocca had founded the first pacifist movement in Spain, Franco's rebellion began. For those of us who know him, to think of Brocca is to think of the Spanish Civil War. For years, throughout the fighting and afterwards, he gave his whole life to the relief and succour of his countrymen.

Though his sympathies were wholly with the Government of which his pacifist friend Senora Amparo Poch was a member, Brocca maintained his witness for non-violence through the darkest hours. He helped many fugitive Republicans to find refuge in France, set up and controlled a



JOSE BROCCA

home on the frontier for refugee children, and in Government-protected areas of Spain was responsible for the distribution of food and relief provided by war resisters in other countries.

José Brocca has been a member of the WRI council for many years. His home is now in Mexico, where his wife was able to join him after American friends had secured her release from Spain. Two of his daughters and one son are in England. Though he is by temperament and vocation an academic man, the shadow of war has fallen across the mature years of his life, and for twelve years now he has been exiled from the seclusion of his university.

F. C.

For Notes

NEW VENTURE IN PEACE MAKING

A REAL success was achieved at the Fellowship of Reconciliation Youth Holiday Conference which brought together some 40 young people, pacifist and non-pacifist, from many parts of Britain and from overseas.

Under the general theme of "Youth and Christian Internationalism" lively discussion ranged over "The Jewish Problem," "East and West," "Education, Culture and Society," "Race Relationships" and "The Church and World Affairs." The principal leaders of the discussions were D. Wallace Bell, Muriel Lester, Dr. Richard K. Ullman, Dr. Joseph Mitchell and the Rev. Clifford Macquire.

Rambles, games, a film show, play readings, brains trust and socials every evening made the week at Amersham a memorable and worth while occasion.

IN GERMANY

THE General Secretary and three members of the World Truth Friendship League are attending the first International Camp of the League at Bure Bilsstein, near Dortmund, in the British Zone of Germany.

The Camp has been organised by the German section of the League.

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COMMENTARY CONTINUED

haps the only thinker who can bandy parts with his Oxford contemporary, Professor A. J. Ayer. When I was first an undergraduate at Oxford, Mackinnon was a don at Keble, a devout Anglo-Catholic and the most brilliant defender of metaphysics against Ayer's Logical Empiricism (or "Positivism") which was, and remains, the dominant movement in Oxford philosophy. Mackinnon, who looks and acts like Charles Laughton in one of his more colourful parts, could electrify undergraduate audiences just as the mercurial, waspish Ayer could sting them. Mackinnon's conversion to pacifism brings a most distinguished intellect to the cause of peace.

Western Union

TWO important developments in French politics have had less attention in Britain than they deserve. The first, the pronouncement by the late French government on Western Union, suggests that France is more willing than had hitherto been supposed to enter a west European federation, including Germany. As Mr. Churchill reminded Mr. Attlee, in their recently published correspondence, the British Government is moving very slowly in this matter, although Western Union has been accepted in principle by Mr. Bevin. It seems we have to wait until Mr. Attlee consults the Dominion governments next month before any decisive steps will be taken.

These delays are most unfortunate. The important thing is to create a Western Union that is a genuine federation of States with a similar cultural heritage, and not a military alliance against the Soviet Union. The longer we take to create a Western Union, the more like a military alliance it will seem.

The obstacles to Western Union are as much economic as political; hence the relevance of the second recent development in France—the appointment of M. Reynaud as economic dictator. France is at present a debtor in her trade with all the Marshall countries. There can be no sound Western European economy until there is a sound French economy. Already the French have made impressive strides towards recovery. This year's bumper harvest will mean even better conditions next year. M. Reynaud's plans were still unknown when the Marie Government and he fell; but any Finance Minister is likely to follow Cripps in stabilising wages and prices so far as he can. He is also likely to axe some of the French civil service. On the other hand, it is improbable that a left-wing Finance Minister, who increased the French taxes in his budget, would in fact succeed in collecting them.

Tito's future

I WONDER how long it will be before an attempt is made on the life of Tito? So far in his quarrel with Stalin, the Yugoslav dictator seems to have had the better of it. His secret police is loyal to him, and the Stalinist elements are already being purged very thoroughly. Stalin is evidently disappointed in his Fifth Column in Yugoslavia, and the Cominform is taking time to think out its reply to Tito.

Oil sanctions have been imposed by the Cominform powers on Yugoslavia, but further economic measures have yet to be taken. It is expected that the complete ban will come into effect any day now. Capital goods and military equipment will be withheld from Yugoslavia, and all trade between Yugoslavia on the one side and Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania, Rumania and Czechoslovakia on the other will be forbidden.

This will mean economic difficulties for Yugoslavia. If they blow up into a crisis, the Cominform agents will be there to stage a revolution.

IN WAR AS IN PEACE

millions of animals are needlessly tortured in the name of science. To stop this melancholy traffic we need the support of thinking men and women.

Details and literature:—

British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection (B.U.A.V.)

WHITEHALL, LONDON, S.W.1.

SWEDEN'S PEACE UNIVERSITY ATTRACTS YOUNG PEOPLE

From a Correspondent

STOCKHOLM

A SMALL but interesting contribution to the cause of peace is being made by a Swedish woman, Mrs. Greta Engkvist, whom I have had the privilege of meeting in Stockholm. Mrs. Engkvist is the Secretary of an educational organisation known as the "Peace University," first mooted shortly before the outbreak of the war.

This organisation, which has the active support of some twenty bodies and two hundred individuals, arranges Summer and Winter Schools, as we should call them, in various localities

in Sweden, at which lectures are given by authorities on international affairs, and discussions are held between students actively concerned with eliminating the root-causes of war.

The "University" has at present no permanent headquarters. The Schools are held in the buildings of the Folk High Schools, during vacations; but a number of distinguished lecturers have given their services, and Mrs. Engkvist claims that this is one of the few Swedish peace organisations which have attracted the interest of the younger generation.

CITY OF LONDON HEARS PPU MESSAGE

THE fountain at Finsbury Square in the City of London served as a rostrum when regular Open Air Meetings were re-commenced there for the first time since the beginning of the War. These meetings are to be held every Wednesday at 1 p.m.

At the first meeting Gwyneth Anderson and Kenneth Trueman spoke to a crowd numbering between 100 and 200. The historical and moral aspects of the Union and the Pledge were dealt with by Gwyneth Anderson, and Kenneth Trueman spoke of the absolute and urgent necessity for Britain to say "No" to war now. Pacifism could now no longer be called woolly-minded in the light of war fought with atomic bombs and other murderous weapons.

The meeting lasted nearly an hour and with continuity a lively meeting is expected every week with a rather different audience to the one the PPU is accustomed to address. One enthusiastic member of the crowd expressed her hope that we would continue the good work. Peace News was sold.

It would be greatly appreciated if those members of the PPU and readers of Peace News working in the City, who have a few minutes to spare, would support this meeting by their attendance and, if they were able, by the distribution of leaflets and the selling of Peace News.

This is the sixth regular Open Air Meeting run by the London Area.

with military reinforcements from the neighbouring powers. It does not look good for Tito. On the other hand, Tito may be able to secure help from the West, in which case the Stalinists will have to resort to the cruder method of shooting Tito and his friends without any regard for popular sentiment. That does not look good for Tito either. Altogether his predicament is an unenviable one.

Tito is a Communist who is not a Stalinist. So he is the enemy both of the anti-Communist West and of the Stalinist East. If he is lucky enough to survive, his movement—the movement of Nationalist Communism—may mark the beginning of the end of the Soviet empire. For that reason I incline to approve of it, and to wish it well.

Russia and Palestine

Will the Americans live to regret their uncritical support for the Zionist seizure of Palestine? Russia is reliably reported to regard the "Israel Government" as a potential ally, and looks to Haifa as the Soviet Port of the future. It will be a striking irony if, after all the money and arms they have given the Zionists, the Americans should wake up one morning to learn that the Red Navy was anchored in Israeli waters.

Meanwhile the plight of 300,000 Arab refugees from Zionist militarism has gone unnoticed there; even pacifists, who did so much to help the Jewish refugees and who pride themselves on being international, seem strangely unconcerned about these unhappy Arab people.

TEN YEARS AGO

From Peace News, Sept. 3, 1938

One of the City of London clerks who lost his job through wearing a white poppy last Armistice Day has at last obtained permanent employment.

Autumn PPU Campaign

THE week of Oct. 10-16 has been finally decided upon for the PPU's autumn campaign. It is considered that this date, later than that suggested in Peace News last week, will make easier the task of securing a nation-wide effort.

The publicity will have a double object, to secure adherents to the Pledge and to recommend to the Government a policy of Unilateral Disarmament and withdrawal from all military commitments. The following are the words of a Resolution passed at the AGM:

"This AGM of the Peace Pledge Union states, categorically that pacifism involves support for unilateral disarmament in Britain now."

The National Committee has set up an *ad hoc* committee to consider how far this Resolution can be implemented as a campaigning issue. The Committee meets at the beginning of September. In the meantime the London Area is asking groups to be prepared to take action along the following lines:

PEACE NEWS, SELLING & PUBLICITY: The issue for Oct. 8 will contain special campaign material and plans for work in all districts. Regular selling of each day of the Week should be undertaken.

LEAFLET DISTRIBUTION: "The Peace Pledge Union—Your Questions Answered." This new pamphlet will be available free or at a very low cost for wide distribution.

PRESS PUBLICITY: Every local paper should receive a letter briefly outlining aims and principles and giving details of the Week's plans.

OPEN-AIR MEETINGS: Two in each Group district.

POSTERS: Free from Headquarters (on application). Each group is asked to display at least one dozen.

LOUD SPEAKER VANS: where funds permit, to advertise above programmes.

INDOOR PUBLIC MEETINGS: in the towns of each Area during the Week. Offers of help or requests for further information should be sent to the London Area Organiser, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.



Thinning hair at the crown of the head should on no account be neglected, for it is but a short step from thin hair to a bare patch, which, with continued neglect, will gradually spread across the scalp in an ever-widening circle.



Right and left of the forehead are other points where thinning hair is a danger sign. Gradually receding, an "island" of hair is left, which may remain for some time before it is engulfed.

FALLING HAIR

Some causes, and methods of treatment

WHEN the hair falls out easily while it is being brushed and combed, the trouble can be traced to ill-nourished roots, causing weakness of the hair sheaths, and weak attachment to the papilla or hair "mother" on which the hair is formed, and from which it grows. A further consequence is the abnormal state of the oil glands, causing the hair to become either too greasy or too dry, too greasy if there is excessive flow of the oil which lubricates the hair, too dry if the flow is insufficient.

Still further ill-results are the formation of dandruff, greasy or dry as the case may be. When greasy, the dandruff may cover the scalp like a skullcap, seal up the pores, choke the hair sheaths, and by its back pressure within the hair sheaths further interfere with the nutrition of the hair, and also disturb the supply of colouring matter distributed by the roots.

And then, if no steps are taken to halt the deterioration of the hair structures, a serious loss of hair all over the scalp is a likely consequence.

Yet the hair roots are extraordinarily vital, and they respond well to treatment provided it is scientifically prepared, skillfully adapted to the different types of hair troubles, and different types of hair trouble, and

ration of the hair structures has occurred. In short, the treatment must both stimulate and supplement the flow of natural nutrition, and correct the various defects that have resulted from the lack of such nutrition, and any other causes.

These facts about the hair, and many others, are revealed in a book entitled "How To Treat Hair Troubles," by Arthur J. Pye, the Consulting Hair Specialist of Blackpool.

This book and other literature, particulars of the treatments required to combat the different types of hair trouble, can be obtained from readers who complete the form below (or copy) enclosing 3d. in stamps towards the cost.

FILL IN & POST FORM

To A. J. PYE, 5 Queen St., Blackpool, P.48. Please send book and particulars of treatments supplied. I enclose 3d. in stamps towards the cost.

NAME (Block Letters)

ADDRESS (Block Letters)

Peace News 3-9-48